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SAKEI TRIBES IN SELANGOR.*

KUALA LANGAT DISTRICT.

ORIGIN.

THE tradition of most Sakeis in this district is that they come from Johor, and this account receives at least striking confirmation from a species of composition which is called "trumba," and which consists of a number of short lines, setting forth in order the various places settled by the Sakeis. Of this "trumba," which I believe will be new to most students of the Sakei dialects, I collected a good many fragments while I was in charge of the sub-district of Sepang, in which was formerly settled a numerous and important colony of the "Orang Laut." The passage dealing with the immigration of these tribes, though to some extent corrupted, is still fairly clear as regards the main outlines of their story. It runs as follows:—

Gobang Goben Buluh Bohal,
Tanah jati, Tanah Hendau,
Terjatoh ka-tanah Johor;
(Naning) Naneng Batin Baruis;
Batin Banggai punya asal
Bukit Nuang, ;
(Turun) chélui Batin Galang,†
Tolak kalaut jadi raiat laut,
Raiat laut jadi Bajau.

Sumah mukah Sembatang Semu-
jong?
Adik Bertêchap Penghulu Klam-
bu ‡
Mukah Tanah Semujong.
Lep baju jâla juandak
Jadi Jêboh Rembau,
Lep baju blah chakap 'Sisi.

Some of this is very obscure, but I would attempt to translate as follows:—

"Gobang Goben, Buluh Bohal, Tanah Jati (?). From the valley of the Endau we came upon the Johol district. In Naming (settled) Batin Baruis. Batin Banggai's first origin was at Bukit Nuang. Batin Galang descended and pushing to the sea-board founded the Orang Laut, and the Orang Laut became Bajau (pirates). Who opened Semujong? The younger sister of Penghulu Klambu opened the region of Semujong. Those who donned the undivided (?) coat became the sons of the soil (beduanda), became the Malays of Rembau. Those who donned the open (lit. "divided") coat speak Besisi."

Gobang Goben, taken as a corruption of *Lobang* Goben, was once explained to me as the name of a hole in a large bamboo called the

* Report forwarded to Government by Mr. W. W. Skeat, Acting District Officer.

† According to one account Batin (Temengzong) Saribu Jaya founded the Besisi, and Batin Merah Galang, a son of Batin Saribu Jaya, the Orang Blandas.

‡ Vide also Newbold, Vol. II. p. 412.

Buluh Bohal in Sumatra, from which the founder of the Sakei race miraculously issued; from Sumatra, according to this account, the Sakeis passed to Johor, and from thence gradually spread up the Peninsula until they came to Sungei Ujong and Selangor. But the Buluh Bohal appears to be the name applied to the Sakei regalia (*v. infra*) and the matter requires further investigation.

The Sungei Endau is of course well known, as is Naning. Batin Banggai is said to have afterwards founded the settlement at Sepang Kechil. Batin Galang probably means Batin Mërak Galang, once well known, as was also Penghulu (Toh) Klambu, on the Sungei Ujong borders. Bertechap, also given as Nyai Techap, looks like a title borrowed from the Malays, as is certainly the case with the word "Pengkulu." I have not succeeded in finding out the exact meaning of "haju jâla," but I believe it is quite true that the Sakei element in Rembau is more important than the Malay. The poem proceeds with a long string of lines which appear quite unintelligible at first sight, but prove on examination to consist of the names of a number of places in the vicinity of the Langat River and in Sungei Ujong.

Next I give an account which was given me by one of the Sepang Sakeis, in whose family the tradition had been handed down from generation to generation, and who was brought to me as an authority by members of his tribe. This tradition, which I took down at the time, upwards of two years ago, and now give for what it may be worth, runs as follows:—"We first came from a country lying at the edge of the sky, where the sun rises, beyond the country of Siam, a country lying at a distance of more than one man's lifetime (*mati balik hidup*); and we spread thence (down the Peninsula) to Johor, but were driven north again by a cruel Malay Raja. At the edge of the sky, in the country we first came from, there stood a giant, whose work was to prop the heavens (*tongkat-kan langit*), and who devoured the clouds (which kept falling downwards from the edge of the sky), cutting off those which overhung with his knife. In those days we were taller than we are now, and slept in caves of the rocks on a big plain which had no grass or trees growing upon it, and upon which no rain ever fell, and which was not like the earth here, but glittered like silver. The next place we came to was a place called Padang Berimbun, where the whole earth was covered with deep dew which was as cold as ice. Here also we slept among the rocks. Thence we reached the mountains of Keluntong (?), which also had no trees or grass upon them, and were very close to the sky; thence we reached, one by one, the hills of the giants (Gunong Gasi-Gasi), Gunong Mentujoh (?), and the hills of Kelantan, Ulu Pahang and Johor; and in Johor we first met with the Malays. The titles of Batin, Jinang, and Jukrah were first distributed at Gunong Mentujoh (?), beyond Siam. At Ayer Tawar the Raja Lumba-Lumba Puteh (White Dolphin), who had come from Pagar Ruyong, drove out our Batin, Siamang Puteh (White Ape), so that he fled to Semujong, where his daughter married and became the mother of the Toh Klana. From Semujong we came to the land of Klang and have dwelt there since. The shore of the sea has greatly changed since we arrived here;

the sea formerly reached inland to Ulu Klang. Bukit Galah and Bukit Benuang were both once on the sea-coast, Bukit Galah taking its name from a post to which boats were tied."

It will be seen that the one point in which all the preceding accounts agree is that the Selangor Sakeis immigrated into the State from Johor, probably at no distant period. But the history of the Sakei tribes previous to their settling in Johor has not yet, I believe, been thoroughly worked out, and the most recent investigations would go to show that there are traces of the fusion of at least two distinct races, the Negritos and the "Laus" of southern China, both in their language and physique, either of which races must have come in the first instance from the north.

Mr. S. E. Peall, F.R.G.S., writing recently for the Journal of the Polynesian Society, states this view as follows:—

"Modified remnants of this archaic (Negrito) race are still found in holes and corners over central, southern and eastern India, forming the bases of the Dravidian Sudra and dark uncivilised communities . . . and in the Burman Peninsula, mixed with Malay, as the Binua, Jakun, Samang, Sakei; a purer fragment in the isolated Andamani"; and again, "Next we find, overlying these Indo-Burman Negritos, an extensive diffusion of south China element, or 'Lau,' which slowly modified, exterminated, or absorbed the former."

Mr. Peall mentions a third ethnic influx, that of the "taller races from east Tibet," which "passing south and to the islands and amalgamating with the races of Sumatra, Java and Borneo, formed the 'Pre-Malayan' types, such as the Batta, Dyak and Nias-Engano islanders."

RECENT MIGRATIONS.

As regards the most recent migrations of the tribes in this district, I may mention that a large body of the Sepang and the Rawang Sakeis, estimated to have been not short of two hundred souls, crossed the Straits to Sumatra but a few years back to join Raja Mahmud (of Selangor) at Selat Dumei, at the back of Pulau Rupert (as it is called on the map), and (2) that a large number of Langat Sakeis have within the last few months returned to Ayer Itam (in this district) from Johor, a fact which shows that the connection with Johor is still kept up. The giant described as propping the sky in the Sepang account may perhaps be explained as an Atlas-like impersonification of the sun ("tunkat" being the name of the sun in several aboriginal dialects of the Peninsula), those trenchant beams might with no great effort be imagined as dividing the clouds with their glittering edge. The treeless plain, gleaming like silver, may perhaps with more probability represent the tradition of some snow field among the Indian hills which some of these migrating tribes or their neighbours found themselves compelled to traverse upon their southward journey before their entrance into the Peninsula.

LANGUAGE.

The dialects spoken by the Sakei tribes in the Peninsula were long ago classed by Logan with the languages of the Mon-Anam group. From time to time many short vocabularies of these dialects have been

collected. Recently, Mr. Hugh Clifford contributed a well-informed paper in No. 24 and in No. 27 of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, S.B.; Mr. C. O. Blagden has collected a large number of Sakei words, which he has compared where possible with the chief dialects of Indo-China; in No. 29 of the same Society's Journal a vocabulary of the Besisi dialect, as spoken in this district, was published. Nevertheless, after a quarter of a century, our knowledge of this fast-vanishing tongue remains so slight that it must be considered quite elementary. The extraordinarily slow progress is of course due to the entire absence of anything approaching to a Sakei alphabet or literature and the difficulty of obtaining full and satisfactory evidence as to the grammar and synthetical structure of a language which is entirely oral. Of the vocabularies collected very few embrace much more than a hundred common words, whereas most probably ten times that amount at least will have to be collected before we can hope to obtain a thorough grasp of the language. What is required is (1) a compilation of the already existing Sakei vocabularies; (2) transcriptions of Sakei dialogues written down word for word as they are uttered; (3) transcriptions of set compositions, such as poems and charms; (4) the publication of all available manuscript and notes on Sakei dialects which are still in the possession of private individuals.

The language spoken by the Negritos was "polysyllabic, euphonic, untuned, with post-positional ideology;" Mon-Anam was "monosyllabic, hence toned with strong complex vowel sounds and compound consonants, with 'ng' as a frequent terminal and ideology prepositional or direct."*

The Besisi dialect (which is the only dialect which I have had the chance of studying) appears to partake of both descriptions, and so far as my limited observations have gone appears mainly (but not entirely) monosyllabic (with strong "agglutinative" or disyllabic tendencies), untuned, with complex vowels, compound consonants, and a pre-positional or direct ideology.

To this I have only to add that Besisi possesses several strange prefixes, such as *na*, *ta*, *ka* (the exact force of which has not been ascertained and the use of which has not yet apparently been observed †); that some letters such as *s* and *ch s* and *h*, are interchangeable, being pronounced differently perhaps by members of the same tribe, or even by the same man at different times (*e.g.*, *chen* and *sên*=*ujong*; *grĕs* and *grĕh*=*hati*); and that there are traces of a "bhasa halus" and "bhasa kasar," as in *jĕlang* (b. halus) and *jĕlōng* (b. kasar), both of which have the same meaning—*i.e.*, "long."

In this district it may be observed that whereas the "Orang Laut," who have but little intercourse with Malays, have very fairly preserved their ancient language (Besisi), and still speak it along the entire sea-board, the "Orang Bukit," on the other hand, who are continually coming in contact with riverain Malays, now speak nothing but Malay,

* *Vide* Mr. Peall's article above.

† There is no doubt, from an overwhelming number of examples, that "*ka*" is a verbal prefix; as in *kupĕt* to strike; *kujon* to give. Again, *na* appears to be an adjectival or pronominal prefix, and *ta* a locative, as is very clearly shown by:—

<i>na-hoh</i> —this	<i>na-keh</i> —that
<i>ta-hoh</i> —her	<i>ta-keh</i> —there

and it is only with the greatest difficulty and by the exercise of no small patience that a word of Sakei can still here and there be collected.

I have now only to add that specimens of the set compositions and vocabularies of the wild tribes as I have been able to collect in this district will be found among the appendices to this report.

PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS.

Here again I cannot do better than quote from Mr. Peall's graphic description of these races. He says:—

"Turning now to the aboriginal races of India and eliminating as far as possible the physical and linguistic elements introduced by later incoming races, such as the Mon-Anam from south China, the Tibetan and Aryan, we glimpse, in the earliest period visible, a *locally* varied Negrito formation, characterised by dark colour, short stature, spiral hair, slender limbs; more or less prognathous, with thickset lips, open eyes, projecting brows, short, semi-bridgeless pyramidal nose, open round nostrils, beardless."

Of the Lau element, which (as already pointed out) "modified, exterminated, or absorbed the former," he says:—

"In language and physique they presented a strong contrast except in stature, which was short; they were paler in colour, with lank hair, small eyes (semi-closed), depressed bridgeless nose, brows not projecting, flat faces, slightly prognathous." And again:—

"It (the 'Lau' race) is the Mon-Anam of the ultra-Indian region and extended to the Nicobars, beyond the Peninsula to Sumatra, Borneo and more or less afterwards mixed over the eastern islands." There appears to be no reasonable doubt that it was the fusion of these two races which produced the Sakei element in this (and, if in this, no doubt in every other) portion of the State. If we eliminate as far as possible the more or less obvious traces of recent intermixture with Malays and Chinese, the characteristics of every Sakei that I have seen could, I believe, be very easily identified with the characteristics of one or other of the two races above described. The spiral hair and dark colour which are such striking characteristics of the Negrito aborigines, are by no means uncommon in this part of the State, and I have seen very good examples of them both, not only in this district but formerly at Klang. On the other hand, I am aware of no one Sakei settlement in the district where all its members conform solely to the Negrito type, many possessing the comparatively lighter colour, lank hair, and other peculiarities of feature ascribed to the Mon-Anam or "Lau" element. Generally speaking, I should say that the fusion of these two races is very fairly obvious in the mixed race which has resulted from their fusion.

RELIGION.

Although I have made the most searching enquiry, I have not been able to discover that the Sakeis of this district possess any distinct ideas of the worship of a Deity. The idea of a personal Deity is not usually to be found among tribes which are still in so rudimentary a stage of civilisation, and must have been derived, if existent, from Mohamedan sources. It is tolerably certain that if these tribes had any definite

idea of a personal God or Gods they would, in common with other savage races, have sought to embody their ideas of his personality in rude graven images of some sort, but no such images have, so far as I am aware, been yet discovered in any of their villages in the Peninsula. It is still more strange that they should, so far as I am aware, have no forms of words or ceremonies such as would result from their possessing even the most rudimentary form of religious belief. I may add that there is no word for God in either of the two dialects spoken in this district.*

Such ideas of worship (if, indeed, they can be so called) as the Sakeis possess are confined to the attempt to propitiate by means of charms the noxious agencies which are believed to cause disease, and which readily present themselves to the untutored imagination of the jungleman in the form of malignant sprits.

During one of my expeditions along the coast between two and three years ago, on reaching the neighbourhood of a deserted Sakei camp, I came upon the figure of a dog (or baboon?) which was hewn out of a block of wood about two and a half feet in length. There was nothing, however, to connect this object even indefinitely with any form of Sakei worship, and I am still in the dark as to what its real significance may have been.

It is, on the other hand, certain that the Sakeis possess definite ideas upon the question of a future state. Mr. G. C. Bellamy, in his report upon the Sakeis of this district (in 1886), referred to this belief in the following passage: "The souls of the departed, according to their ideas, pass away to an Island of Fruit Trees, where they spend eternity." Mr. Bellamy suggests that this island may be the moon, but I have not been able to find anything to confirm this supposition although a similar superstition is found among other savage tribes. It lies rather in the shadowy regions of the Unknown, and if you ask the Besisi about it, in most cases they pertinently remark that they cannot say where it lies, since nobody has ever seen it. Yet it is no less real to them; a land "where falls not hail nor rain, nor any snow, nor ever wind blows loudly;" a land unfailing of durians and rambutans and mangosteens and of the varied fruits of the jungle; a land therefore, of perpetual feasting and where the simple junglemen may lie reclined, playing upon their rude instruments of music. None but the good will be admitted to it, the bad will have no place there, but mourn, may be, "blown about a wandering wind" (as was the ghost of Gawain).

Such is the Sakei idea of the Island of Fruits, according to information gathered during many a desultory chat with members of the tribe upon this and kindred subjects. I should like, however, before leaving the subject, to point out the strong passion for fruit which is characteristic of the race, and which not only shows itself in the wild

* Cf. the following passage in the proceedings of the R.A.S., S.B. (1878): "I made strict enquiries as to their belief, naturally concluding there would exist some idea of a supreme being, but to my surprise these people had no idea of a God; they had no representative caves or sacred spots, nothing was looked upon as supernatural; they did not bother themselves to imagine a cause for thunder or lightning, or sun or moon, or any of the phenomena which one and all give rise in other savages to poetical ideas of dragons, combats, and destroying spirits; the Sakei were born, lived as best they could, died, rotted, and there ended.

whoop with which their songs conclude but actually forms so prominent a feature in their idea of a heaven.

If any further evidence were needed of their belief in a future existence, an additional proof might be found in the custom—alluded to below—of depositing the model of a hut, furnished with all things which might be thought necessary to the prospective comfort of the deceased in the state upon which he is entering, at the side of the rude grave in which his mortal remains are laid to rest.

CUSTOMS.

(a) *Marriage*.—The existence of a distinctive marriage law is perhaps more than might be expected of this unsophisticated race, yet it not only exists but is recognised as binding, and is moreover, I believe, pretty strictly observed, at least among the Besisi, and it is noticeable that there are in Besisi special terms for both husband and wife, who are called *hëlök* (*këlök*) or *kuyñ* and *hòdông*, respectively; the word for “marriage” being a combination of the two—viz., “*kuyñ-hodong*.”

The modern ceremony is of the most simple description and is now generally performed by the Batin (who, as a Besisi man once put it, “takes the place of an Imam”): it (the ceremony) consists mainly of exhortations to both parties to take each their fair share of the toils of life, and smooth each other’s lot as far as possible.* It is a curious fact that *both* parties change their names after the ceremony, the name they take being a (new) family one—*e.g.*, *Pah Bijan*, *Mak Bijan* (names of a married couple of Orang Blandas in this district.)

The marriage settlements brought by the man consist of such objects as are eminently calculated to contribute to the satisfaction of a savage bride; for instance, a string of beads, four *hasta* (cubits) of white cloth, a plate, a cup, and last, but not least, a ring (the latter being as often as not of copper), which completes the list, though the husband has further to provide a house and a set of house-utensils sufficient to enable housekeeping to be started with ordinary comfort. Among the Besisi a man may rarely, if ever, be found to possess a second wife, but never more (owing perhaps to the necessity which is stronger than the law), and no woman may have more than one husband, which is the opposite of what was observed by Mr. J. A. G. Campbell among the Ulu Langat Sakeis.

The Besisi have a regular season—*i.e.*, the end of the padi harvest—when all their marriages take place for the year, a practice which recalls the wedding law of Peru,† by which there was established one universal wedding day annually throughout the land.

The “ant-heap” ceremony, ascribed by Mr. J. A. G. Campbell to the Orang Bukit who dwell near the upper reaches of the Langat, is no longer observed, as far as I have ascertained, among the local Besisi who inhabit the coast.

I have, however, lately had the good fortune to witness it when it was being performed at Ayer Itam by the Besisi from Batu Pahat, a

* *Vide* also Newbold, Vol. II, p. 407-8.

† Thus, in Prescott’s “Conquest of Peru,” p. 49, we read, “Every wedding took place on the same day (*i.e.*, annually).” A full description of this practice and the method of carrying it out will be found under the same reference.

number of whom under a Batin of their own arrived at Ayer Itam some months ago and mixed with the local tribe.

There being no ant-hill* available at Ayer Itam, a small pit was dug by Penghulu Lempar of (Batu Pahat) close to the big palm-leaf "balei" which had been erected for the occasion. With the earth, or rather clay, thrown up from the pit, Penghulu Lempar had before my arrival constructed a mound about the height of a man's waist, in the shape of a truncated cone, surmounted by a small globe and knob, so that it was not unlike a gigantic bell and bell-handle. In the morning, just before the wedding, he was decorating it with flowers, and when I asked him where he learnt how to do so, he replied that he was quite used to doing it (I mention this because the Batin afterwards told me that the custom was only kept up among the Besisi of Ulu Batu Pahat). The flowers were arranged by him as follows. First he planted about half a dozen long stems of what he described as "bungah ponggoh" (called by the Langat Malay who accompanied me "satawar hutan"); then he planted also round about the mound several blossoming stems of the common drawf rhododendron (kédudok), which he called kodok; to these he added some of the young shoots of the nibong and kepau palms, and finally into the mound itself he struck some blossoming stems of "sendayan."

To these natural products of the jungle he now added the following artificial ones—firstly a bunch of artificial "flowers" made from strips of kepau leaf; these were intended to represent (1) the sun (met arek or tongkat langit); (2) coconuts (niyu); (3) subang (rings); (4) the blossom of the chongoi mēri (puchok pinang raja or sealing wax palms); (5) the blossom and fruit of the jungle fruit called by the Malays "salayer" or "kembang samangkok."

I may add that each representation of the sun was crowned with a little spike on each of which he stuck the blossom stripped from a newly plucked branch of rhododendron, and that this bunch, representing the objects described, was inserted into the knob-like summit of the mound, whilst an artificial fringe of the material was carried round the mound just below the upper rim of the truncated portion.

Preparations were completed by depositing on the flat top of the truncated portion a dish containing two portions of rice and "chambai" (wild sirih) and a dish of water.

About half past nine the beating of drums at a distance announced the approach of the bridegroom's party. On its arrival the bride was carried (on the shoulders of a matron, if I remember rightly) outside and stationed near to the mound, so as just to leave room for the bridegroom and his supporters to pass. The following catechising of the Batin (on behalf of the man) was then conducted by the Penghulu Balei (on behalf of the woman):

Penghulu Balei—Terbli pinggan

mangko ? Have you bought plates and cups?

Batin—Terbli I have.

P.—Terbli piok bangak ? Have you bought pots and pans?

B.—Terbli I have.

* It would appear that the ant-hill is always artificial and of the peculiar shape described. .

P.—Terblí hěndi ?	...	...	Have you bought clothing ?
B.—Terblí	...	...	I have.
P.—Terblí hau ?	...	...	Have you bought a parang ?
B.—Terblí	...	...	I have.
P.—Terblí biong ?	...	...	Have you bought a hatchet ?
B.—Terblí	...	...	I have.
P.—Kabeh dung ?	...	...	Have you built a house ?
B.—Kabeh	...	...	I have.
P.—Kabeh tanggak ?	...	...	Have you made the steps (to it) ?
B.—Kabeh	...	...	I have.
P.—Kabeh löbak ?	...	...	Have you made a clearing ?
B.—Kabeh	...	...	I have.
P.—Kabeh sendoh ?	...	...	Have you made a spoon (of wood) ?
B.—Kabeh	...	...	I have.
P.—Kabeh timbak ?	...	...	Have you made a water bucket ?
B.—Kabeh	...	...	I have.
P.—Pětöm yet ?	...	...	Have you planted yams ?
B.—Pětöm	...	...	I have.
P.—Pětöm bohš (or bois) ?	...	...	Have you planted sugar cane ?
B.—Pětöm	...	...	I have.
P.—Pětöm bê ?	...	...	Have you planted rice ?
B.—Pětöm	...	...	I have.
P.—Pětöm hěntok ?	...	...	Have you planted bananas ?
B.—Pětöm	...	...	I have.
P.—Kahun goh ?	...	...	Are you able to fell ?
B.—Kahun	...	...	I am.
P.—Kahun yal p'lê ?	...	...	Are you able to climb for fruit ?
B.—Kahun	...	...	I am.
P.—Kahun nalö ?	...	...	Are you able to shoot (with blow-gun) ?
B.—Kahun	...	...	I am.
P.—Kabeh mudut ?	...	...	Do you smoke cigarettes ?
B.—Kabeh	...	...	I do.
P.—Telong kepoh yohh ?	...	...	Can you find turtle eggs ?
B.—Telong	...	...	I can.
P.—Höl ?	...	...	Is it true ?
B.—Nahöl	...	...	It is.
Chong Singaporá Malaká	...	...	I would purchase a hill at Singapore
Pulau Pinang öyn blí...	...	...	Malacca or Penang, in
Chong Selangor Perak öyn bli	...	...	Selangor or in Perak
Naho koh kenon mah...	...	...	and how much more the child of a human being
P.—Nahöl tempá' krép (kret) ?	...	...	Is it true, on your life ?
B.—Ödö kënon mah	...	...	Mention not the child of a human being
Sikah lotong alö öyn tělong	...	...	Chikahs and lotongs do I search
Alö öyn kakom	...	...	for and capture and how much
Naho'koh kenon'mah	...	...	more the child of a human being
P.—Pun kledek Pân	...	...	(Pân) Sweet potato (pân)

Telak tauaman Jakun	...	Sweet potatoes are planted by the Jakun,
Höl 'kata Batin Jinang Jukrah	It is	ratified by the Batin, Jinang, Jukrah,
Mah horô Mah nyom...	...	By young and by old.
Kliling busut kliling ...	...	Round the mound and round again.

At this stage of the proceedings the bridegroom was conducted seven times and bride once only round the mound, and they were then stationed side by side, whilst they were together given rice to eat together from the plate and water from the same dish. All parties then adjourned to the "balei," where a feast was in course of preparation, and shortly after I had to leave.

I may add, however, that during the entire night before the wedding from dark to dawn the Sakeis never ceased beating their drums and playing on their rude bamboo flutes and stringed bamboos (banjeng).

The dress worn both by bride and bridegroom, who were little more than children, was in imitation of Malay apparel. I attempted to photograph the scene at the ant-hill with a hand-camera which I had brought with me, but have not yet been able to develop the plates.

(b) *Burial*.—There is no regular platform burial to be found among the Besis, although the custom described by Mr. J. A. G. Campbell, in his report* (1886) on the Sakies of Ulu Langat, may perhaps be considered reminiscent of the practice. The dead are not laid in the grave in a special position, but more or less at haphazard, and (very rarely it is said) supine, with the knees drawn up towards the chin and the hands clasped in front of the knees in a sort of sitting posture.

The house in which the deceased lived, and sometimes the whole of the settlement, will be occasionally deserted after a death. But the most peculiar feature of Sakei burial among the Besis is the model of a small triangular hut or shelter which is erected on posts about three feet high near the foot of the grave, and which is furnished with models of such weapons or utensils as are distinctive of the sex of the deceased, together with a modicum of provisions (*e.g.*, rice and water). I was some months ago discussing this custom with the three Batins of Ayer Itam in the presence of the tribe, when one of the Batins gave instructions that a model should be made for me; and in not more than twenty minutes a rough but perfectly intelligible and cleverly made model had been constructed from strips of the leaf stalk of the ranggam palm, pinned together with the formidable thorns of the nibong,† and filled with the diminutive furniture alluded to.

The great majority of the Sakei dead are buried in a supine position, which is now varied by the laying of the body on the right side in imitation of the Malays. On the other hand, there is a solitary family at Sepang belonging to the Tasau tribe, who are described as being

* Printed in the *Selangor Journal*, Vol. III.

† "As they believed that the occupations in the future world would have great resemblance to those of the present, they buried with the deceased noble some of his apparel, his utensils, and frequently his treasures."—*Ibid.*

"half-way between the sea and the hill tribes," and are said to practise some peculiar burial customs, the story being that when a member of this tribe dies he is carried some distance off into the jungle and there laid in a small hut which is erected for the purpose, where he is watched for seven days by his son or nearest relative, who makes daily excursions to the spot for that object; after this he is supposed to disappear, and the son's visits are discontinued.

After seeing the model of the hut erected at the foot of the grave by the Besisi here, it appears to me a very legitimate hypothesis that this model may be a reminiscence of an actual hut in which the dead body was formerly laid to rest by the members of the original tribe, that this (the original) custom still survives among the Orang Tasau, and that the Orang Besisi have retained the hut on a diminished scale long after they had taken to burying their dead in the ground and had forgotten the use to which the hut was originally put.

In this case the exposure of the corpse upon a platform before burial (referred to by Mr. Campbell) might be regarded as an intermediate stage of the custom; and the links of evidence which connect the present with the original burial customs of the race would be fairly complete.

Only a few weeks ago I happened to arrive at Ayer Itam when a burial was just about to take place, and was able to take notes on the spot of the entire ceremony.

The deceased, a Besisi girl, named Sauma, had been brought to the spot in her own sarong, but covered from head to heel in a new shroud of white cloth and with a couple of new mats wrapped round outside the shroud, the whole being lashed to a pole for convenience of conveyance. When I arrived, the body, still lashed to the pole, was lying near the grave, which was a very narrow oblong pit not deeper than a man's waist.

A yard or two from the foot of the grave stood the triangular hut on posts to which reference has already been made, but instead of its being properly roofed three leaves of the fan palm (kepu) had been cut to the full length of their stalks and made to lean over the triangular framework of the hut. I was told that this was done to save time, but I noticed at the foot of another grave near by the ruins of a similar hut which had evidently, from the remains of the kepu leaves, been roofed in a similar manner. A ladder, consisting of an inclined stick, was added to give access to the hut. The new hut had been furnished (before my arrival) with models of the sentong (a long basket for jungle produce which is carried on the back and much affected here by Sakei women) woven from strips of serdang leaf, a "sumpit" filled with rice seed (closed), and a "bujam" or wallet (open) containing young shoots of the wild sirih (chambai), also one of the edible shell fish called lokau, and a piece of newly-woven matting about 9 inches square on which had been deposited the smallest possible portions of boiled rice, fish, "assam" and sugar (but no salt), and a little water.

The deceased's father now unloosed the new sleeping mats and the shroud which had been fastened at the head and foot of the body, and stripping them of their selvage wetted the deceased's face and breast

with the stump of a banana leaf dipped in water, and removed her sarong, which was laid aside to be burned. Then the shroud was rearranged and she was laid in the grave with the stump of the banana leaf under her head as a pillow; a plank of pulai wood, resting on sticks placed in a sloping position to receive it, was fixed diagonally above the body.*

The earth was now filled in and four poles put down rectagonally to mark the edges of the grave. Then two of the company taking their stand on opposite sides of the grave and each of them in turn holding out at about the height of his breast a couple of parangs crossed horizontally let them fall (still crossed) upon the centre of the grave seven times running; a strange custom, of which those present could only tell me that they did it in order that their own lives might be lengthened, but which other Sakeis have since told me is intended to fix the deceased's spirit in the tomb, and keep it from harming the living.

The following plants were then planted by those present about the grave—(1) daun ati-ati, a sort of purple-leaved nettle called torek in Besisi; (2) yams (Besisi, yet); (4) several roots of the fragrant lemon grass (serai); (5) several roots of the sweet potato (tilak or hilak.)

Then the rice-seed was taken out of the hut and sown broadcast over the grave and water sprinkled over it, and I was told the rice was for deceased to eat. Finally the sarong of deceased, the two new mats and the strips of selvage were collected together and consumed by a small fire which had been kept burning since the commencement of the ceremony.

I must add that, as it was approaching midday when the preparations at the grave were complete, there was some hesitation on the part of those present as to whether it was not actually noon, in which case they said they should have to postpone the burial till the afternoon, as the shortness of their shadows at noon would shorten their own lives. Fortunately I was able to reassure them, and the ceremony accordingly proceeded. There was no actual form of service, but the chiefs of the tribe were all present on the occasion. I attempted to photograph the scene at the grave, but have not yet been able to develop the plates.

Festivals.—The chief Sakei feasts formerly took place during the padi season; firstly, when the padi began to bloom, and again at the beginning, middle and end of the harvest.

On these occasions, the entire settlement having been called together, fermented liquor brewed from jungle fruits was drunk, and to the accompaniment of strains of their rude and incondite music, both sexes, crowning themselves with fragrant leaves and flowers, indulged in dancing and singing to a very late hour. The songs which were sung on these festive occasions belong to a series of rude compositions which generally commence by setting forth the attributes or habits of some particular wild animal or bird; thence proceeding to describe the incidents of its pursuit by men from the Sakei village, they picture

* No doubt in imitation of the Malay form of burial known as "papan sa' keping" (the single plank).

its death by a venomous shaft from the blow-gun; the return of the successful huntsmen, and the impartial division of their spoil. This brings the song to a natural termination, and the singer concludes in every case with a wild joy-whoop of "P'lê' ! P'lê' ! P'lê' ! P'lê' !" (Fruit ! Fruit ! Fruit ! Fruit !) which would send the blood tingling through the veins of the most phlegmatic.* The songs, which are really acted with appropriate gestures, occasionally refer to jungle trees or fruits, and one to the fish-trap (lukah). According to the account of the Besisi themselves, those present at this festival continued their drinking until intoxicated, and at its conclusion, according to immemorial custom, were allowed, if they pleased, to exchange their wives.

I was present on one occasion during the padi season when these songs were sung, or rather acted by Sakei performers who wore in addition to the chawat a fringe (jari lipan) of serdang leaves torn into strips round the head so as to conceal the features, another round the waist and a third band slung over the shoulder (like a bandolier), in addition to this there was a bunch of imitation flowers (of similar material) inserted in the fringe round the head, and another in the waist. The whole attire reminded one somewhat of our own "Jack-in-the-green," and I should imagine had its origin in a similar motive—viz., an attempt to make the new year productive by the wearing of greenery.

I may add that this remarkable festival is called "Main Jo'oh"; the meaning of "Jo'oh" is not very clear, but it may mean drinking or perhaps intoxication.†

Charms.—The buluh perindu (ding dioi ?) is described as a kind of dwarf bamboo, which grows, like the no less famous "chinduai," on inaccessible mountain peaks.

It is said that slivers of this plant obtained from the Sakeis were slipped in between their teeth by the "Orang Ma'jong" in former days, with the object of rendering their voices so sweet as to be irresistible; in this case they had at their mercy all who heard them, and made use of their power to extort whatever might happen to take their fancy. Hence formerly in some parts of the Peninsula the possessing of a portion of a buluh perindu was formerly made punishable by death.

The chinduai is a fragrant root upon which minute blossoms appear, and which is said to be the most fragrant thing that grows in the world. The story says that it grows underneath the ledge of an overhanging rock on the top of one of the mountains in Ulu Klang,‡ and that the Sakei who wishes to obtain it has to ascend this hill and keep his fast upon the top of a rock until a kite, which uses the chinduai as medicine for its young, drops a piece in flying over him. I have in my possession two minute rootlets which purport to be rootlets of the buluh perindu and chinduai, respectively. I cannot say if they

* I have collected about 30 of these songs, but am told there are others. They are all modelled on the same plan, and appear to me unique of their kind.

† *Vide* Mr. D. F. A. Hervey's Paper on the Endau and Tributaries (R. A. S. Journal, 1882), p. 161, where he gives "Jo'oh" as meaning "to drink," and remarks that the same word is used in the Pantang Kapur with the same meaning.—Journal S.B.R.A.S., No. 3, July, 1879, p. 113.

‡ According to another account it is the *cheng kuo* which grows upon Batu Lalau in Ulu Klang. It is described as a root about a palm's-breadth long, with fine threads about it.

are so or not, as they possess no leaves or stem, and are too small for identification, but a very faint and indescribable perfume appears distinguishable on opening the bamboo receptacle in which they are kept. The *chinduai* of Ulu Klang is well known as a most powerful love-charm.*

The jungle Malays profess to be very much afraid of Sakei arts; the latter were formerly credited with being great adepts at what are known in India as "sendings" (*penuju*), and if any unusual sickness happened to a Malay when there was a Sakei settlement in the vicinity, it would often be ascribed to the evil agency of the latter. But it is to be feared that in those days a bad excuse for looting the Sakeis was considered better than none, and it is difficult in such a connection to avoid a mental application of the fable of the wolf and the lamb.

The Sakeis, on the other hand, are still considered the best exponents of the *berhantu* (*bersawei*) ceremony, and they certainly are as clever as anybody at stripping the *sialang* trees at night of their pendulous load of wild-bees' nests, a proceeding which is supposed to require the accompaniment of charms of more than ordinary power.

The Blow-pipe.—This weapon is so well known and has been so often described that I will make my remarks upon it as brief as possible. It consists of an outer and inner shaft; of these the outer shaft is called *tâgö* or *'gö* in *Besisi*: the inner shaft is generally formed of two pieces—one rather longer than the other—which are united by means of a closely fitting sheath or case which is slipped over an end of both, and which is called *chemat*; the long portion being named *lëmol* (*jantan*) in contradistinction to the shorter part which is called *këdöl* (*bëtina*). To shoot with the *sumpitan* is "*nälö*."

The mouth-piece (which must be taken *into the mouth*) is called *tëbóng*. It is not generally known, I believe, that the *sumpitan* is cleaned out by means of a sort of short ramrod called *jëngghêk*. The tube or hollow itself is called *sëróng* and the ring at the mouth is *chûl*. For about a foot or more from the end the tube is bound with split rattan and coated outside with a thick crust of a tree-gum in order to weight it properly.†

The blow-pipe is decorated with rude hieroglyphics usually of zigzag, elliptical or pyramidal shapes, and I have occasionally observed the delineation of an iguana or crocodile upon its polished shaft. These are no doubt conventional symbols and represent the nearest approach to pictorial writing that has been attained by this primitive race. Their meaning has been worked out with great ingenuity by Mr.

* So the local quatrain:—*Jangan di-tetak buluh telang: Kalau di-tetak kena sembilu-nya: Jangan di-jijah gunung Klang: Kalau di-jjak kena rindu-nya.*

"Chop not the bamboo (called) telang;

If you chop it, you will be struck by its splinters."

"Tread not upon the Klang mountains;

If you tread upon them you will be struck (affected) by their love-charm."

† The ingredients of the poison (*ipoh* or *ches*, *malai*, *tenet* and *jenn* or *tuba*) are, I believe, too well known to be recapitulated here. But it may not be generally known (1) that *asam* (*kelubi*, etc.) must never be eaten with the flesh of animals killed with it, as this brings out all the symptoms of the poison; nor (2) that it affects trees and plants, so that the branch struck by the arrow dies; not immediately, but slowly and surely. The only antidote known here is maize, but not much is known about how to apply it. See, however, Newbold II, 403, *re* the "*leimah keping*," and *ib.* 399 *re* ingredients.

Vaughan Stevens, though there is no doubt more to be learnt about them. A common "motive" on the blow-gun and quiver here represents in a highly conventionalised form the bones and body of the "lotong," (a large monkey) the reason given by the Besisi being that it is the largest of the animals usually eaten by them. I suppose this means the largest of such animals as are killed by the blow-gun, and in this case its delineation on the shaft of the blow-gun might perhaps be explained as a simple example of what is called sympathetic magic. According to the Besisi, the lotong symbol on the blow-gun represents only the lotong's bones (arms and legs), and that upon the quiver, which is square with a zigzag fringe,* his body and fingers. I know of no supposed affinity between the Besisi and the lotong which might warrant their being explained as totem signs, and the lotong is always unhesitatingly killed when chance offers.

Betel-Chewing.—The chewing of the betel leaf is a favourite occupation of the Sakei, who more especially affects a sort of wild betel-leaf called chambai and the bark of a creeper called kâlông, which is said, however, to be the stem of the chambai. I have tasted both these products of the jungle, and found that they possessed the pungent aromatic flavour of the betel, and left a sort of roughness of the palate behind a few minutes after their being swallowed. The Sakeis are also inordinately fond of tobacco.

Cane Girdle.—A girdle of woven cane, of a beautiful and distinctive pattern, was formerly worn by the Sakeis in this district. I have obtained specimens of it.

Face Decoration.—I have never yet seen a single example of tattooing among the Besisi, although Mr. Campbell alludes to it in the report mentioned above. I have, however, observed the decoration of the forehead with rice-flour (bedak), and also with a description of red unguent, and I have heard that a similar decoration of the face is known in other States of the Peninsula—*e.g.*, in Perak.

Musical Instruments.—Of these, the following deserve special mention: the banjeng (Malay: kërantung), the nose-flute, the ordinary Sakei bamboo flute, and the bamboo instruments described above (*vide* "Charms"). The first, which consists of a bamboo joint with strings outside it, is declared to be an imitation of the stick insect, which it certainly very closely resembles; the second is played through the nose.

Insignia.—Some two or three years ago, when I was at Sepang, the Sakeis told me of a strange sort of head-gear which formed the insignia of their lineal chiefs, and now Raja Manan of Sepang tells me that this head-gear was a short time ago in the possession of Batu Pah Kasat (late of Sepang Kechil), who showed it to him and who used to wear it on his head whenever the tribe met in council. Raja Manan states that this head-gear was made of some material with which he was not acquainted, but which might have been manufactured from tree-bark, and that it consisted of strands of this material most

* It is on this square (on the front of the quiver) that the delicate points of the blow-gun arrows are worked up.

cunningly interwoven into knots or loops resembling the *buku bemban* (a kind of knot) of the Malays. It was called buluh bohal, and descended direct as "pesaka" (heirloom) from father to son in the male line. It is not used, however, by any other than this one tribe.

Bersawei.—This ceremony is performed at night for the relief of sick persons.* All lights are carefully extinguished leaving the house in complete darkness, and the assembled company, including women as well as men, sitting round the walls, commence to chant, to the accompaniment of the bamboo instruments called "ding tengkhing," which are used by several performers sitting in the middle of the room. These instruments are merely short pieces of bamboo (generally, I believe, the buloh bétong) which are cut off just below the knot at both ends. They are six in number and form a series of gradually diminishing sizes; the two biggest, which give the deepest notes, being called lemol (male) or kuyn (kun, father) and the two next kedol (female) or gende' (mother); while the two smallest—carrying on the metaphor—are called kēnon (children); these two latter, however, also have a special name of their own, *i.e.*, kentot, and I was told that they were, so to speak, mere supernumeraries, as they are not essential to the performance but are used to replace the bigger ones if damaged. The performers hold one of the bamboos in each hand, and strike the bottom of each in rapid succession upon the central floor-beam of the house, when they emit a musical note of great sweetness.

To this accompaniment the invocation of the spirits is chanted in the darkness by the rest of the company, until after a brief interval the spirit announces his descent by causing one of the company to fall down unconscious. While he is in this state questions are put to him as to the medicines required to cure the sick person for whose benefit the ceremony is performed, and when the required information has been given the person possessed is restored to consciousness by inhaling the smoke of the burning incense, which "restores him immediately."

I have been able to obtain a fragment of an invocation used at this ceremony, which is, however, much more frequently practised by the hill tribes than the Besisi (Orang Laut). It is mostly Malay but very obscure, and though I heard it chanted by the Besisi, I imagine they must have obtained it from the Orang Bukit:

- | | |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. Höl mui, 'mbar, empê, 'mpat, | 6. Lëgang beh jëlöng (rëntang) |
| 2. Höl limak', anam, tujôh, | chong ki'ip |
| 3. Mëlëlap, sama subang gading | 7. Bilang limau lilang |
| 4. Mëlëlap, sama subang tinjong | 8. Bilang limau pûrût |
| 5. Lëgeng beh jëlöng (rentang) | 9. Rentak balei bumbun' |
| chong dëndan | 10. Rentak-leh balei salong, etc. |

1. *Höl* true, approved, sanctioned.

3-4. *Subang* explained as descriptive of the decoration of the walls with objects made from strips of "serdang" or "këpau" palm-leaf: *tinjong* is said to refer to the ring-form of decoration especially.

* *Vide* Newbold, Vol. II. p. 389.

5-6. These lines refer to the palm-leaf fringes stretched round the walls.

9-10. *Rentak* is to "drum" on the floor with the foot.

AMELIORATION OF CONDITION OF SAKAIS.

There is little if anything that can be done (with the sole exception perhaps of a guarantee of immunity from taxes on jungle produce, boat and fishing licenses, etc.) to better the condition of the Sakei. His essentially nomadic existence renders any attempt to settle him permanently on the soil nugatory. I do not mean that he cannot (as at Malacca) be induced to settle down, but that as soon as he settles he ceases to be a Sakei, and loses his most striking and, I may say, most laudable characteristics.* His durian orchards might conceivably (at an almost inconceivable expense) be surveyed and reserved to him throughout the State, but he could not be confined to their limits: indeed this wild and free people appears to possess a dislike almost amounting to superstition for anything in the shape of a permanent land mark, and the very act which above all others might be expected to attach them to the soil would almost undoubtedly have the effect of driving them off it. To reserve a tract of jungle for their especial use would certainly be ineffectual unless the tract were more extensive than the Government would be ready to grant; to confine a herd of wild deer in a buffalo pen must necessarily be fatal to the deer. On the other hand: if a sufficiently large area or areas could be formed into a Sakei reserve, it would be an excellent way of retaining them in the country—for a time.

Some few Sakeis will from time to time amalgamate with the native population (indeed, I know of a Sakei village in this district which for many months past has been engaged sedulously and seriously in cultivating the now universally popular coffee), but the great majority will continue to skirmish on the outskirts of advancing-civilisation only to retreat eventually to the jungle fastnesses of the Selangor-Pahang frontier.

They value their liberty above all things, and I do not therefore think that there is anything other than the guarantee suggested to be done for their amelioration, as any attempt to attach them to the soil must inevitably militate against that freedom which they have probably for many centuries past been enjoying, and which it is to be feared no effort of western civilisation is likely to be able any further to increase. The establishment of a strong and just Government which protects them from the rapacity of the Malay, has already given them what they most required.

* *Vide* Newbold, Vol. II. p. 397.

APPENDIX.

APPROXIMATE NUMBER OF POPULATION (SAKEI).

Mukim.		M.		F.		C.
Bandar-Jugra	...	60	...	50	..	24
Tanjong Duablas	...	23	...	23	...	10
Klanang	...	28	...	26	...	40
Morib	...	—	...	—	...	—
Sepang	...	20	...	5	...	10
Labu	...	24	...	15	...	13
Total		155	...	119	...	97

In the absence of any information as to the number of the Sakeis in this district on the occasion of the last report (1886),* I am unable to say if they have or have not increased in numbers.

THE ORANG BLANDAS.

It should be noted that throughout the above sketch of manners and customs I have practically confined my remarks to the Besisi or Orang Laut. The Sakeis belonging to the Orang Blandas or Hill Tribes in the district do not I believe number a hundred souls, and I have had very limited opportunities of coming across them.

They inhabit several small hamlets on the Langat River which I have visited more than once, and I attach a short list of words picked up on one of these occasions, and which appear to belong to a dialect entirely different from that spoken by the Besisi.

Words used by the "Orang Bukit" (Blandas) in Kuala Langat District:—

- Hither—come here; (Kamari); chan or chyân
- Thither—go there; (Kasana); chûn or chyûn
- House—(rumah); sergul
- Blow-gun arrow (anak sumpitan): pahabong (?)
- Receptacle for ipoh poison (bêkas ipoh): jelôk
- Polecat (musang): chengkot
- Elephant (gajah): badui or gôsêl
- Tiger (rimau): dûcûn, nongkom, medjê, or gêlôm
- Wild pig (babi hutan): mès or risim
- Bare-headed (gondul): oichul
- Nibong: sauggang
- Banana (pisang): chêbong
- Yam (kladi): bihang
- Sugarcane (tebu): tēbrau
- Ill (sakit): po'ûm
- Dog (anjing): gubin
- Man (orang jantan): jambul

(no doubt=mal jambul, a top-knot, from the top-knots still sometimes worn by the man; not a Sakei word).

Gather, to (pungut): chéchêt

Monkeys—

(1) Chikah: tanjang

(2) Kra: chenawan

(3) Brok: ludik

Sweet potato (as in Besisi): tilak.

N.B.—The names given for elephant and tiger in this list are perhaps Sakei nicknames for those animals, but we have clearly a very different dialect from Besisi.

The following is a specimen of the form of improvisation known as *séoi* (hêoi) which will give a fair idea of its style:

SEOI.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. Chërabong bungak mpai
Terkembang (?) bunga blharu | 12. Néchit chim bekom ngot,
gadeh, ai! |
| 2. Betasap bungak mësok
Lebat bunga tembusu | 'Nak kenakkan burung tiada
dapat, makku, ai! |
| 3. Ödö di-kenang alö, gadeh, ai!
Jangan di-ingat lagi, mak-
ku, ai! | 13. Ödö harap-leh gadeh, ai!
Jangan di-harap mak-ku, ai! |
| 4. Kawin-leh, kawin, kawin 'dah!
Champak-lah, terchampak
sudah | 14. Kënon hun ngot yal kulong
Anak tidak kuat panjat
ka-atas |
| 5. Ödö nodor alö gadeh, ai!
Jangan sebut lagi, mak-ku, ai! | 15. Klet hëntong chong këtökhoh
gadeh, ai!
Bawa sentong tali-nya putus
pula, mak-ku, ai! |
| 6. Karak tempok öyn gadeh, ai!
Tinggal tampo' aku, mak-
ku, ai! | 16. 'An chim tates ayut ladong
Angkat burung enggangpu-
lang karumah |
| 7. Karak til jong öyn, gadeh, ai!
Tinggal tapak kaki-ku, mak-
ku, ai! | 17. Kajöh nëneh chim tatês
gadeh, ai!
Brat sêkali burung enggang
mak-ku, ai! |
| 8. Karak bilang seoi öyn gadeh, ai!
Tinggal bilang nyanyi-ku
mak-ku, ai! | 18. 'Dah yut machin chim tates
gadeh, ai!
Sudah pulang masakkan bu-
rong enggang, mak-ku, ai! |
| 9. Chong kenang grês öyn
gadeh, ai!
Bukit ingat hati-ku, mak-
ku, ai! | 19. Jön kachar muntêt mulih
Bri makan sadikit saorang |
| 10. Miong heoi öyn hru' dung öyn
gadeh, ai!
Dengarkan nyanyi-ku dalam
rumah-ku mak-ku, ai! | 20. Ödö punan chim tates-hoh
gadeh, ai!
Jangan kempunan burung
enggang-itu, mak-ku, ai! |
| 11. Öyn ha-chok meri, ha-nechit
chim
Aku 'nak pergi kahutan,
'nak getâh burung | 21. Jönleh kachar muntet mulih
Brilah makan sadikit sa-
orang. |



Contrast the above which is nearly pure Besisi with the Blandau charm for the hantu Pawul, which is nearly pure Malay:

Puchok ulan daun ulan
 Intas (melintas?) sapanjang lantei
 Sabulan dua bulan
 Shiah kiri, shiah kanan,
 Sial aku, Pawul bangkei!

or the following description of the "langsuir":

Langhui langhuah	Tungkul pinang mudak
Paroh sapengêtop,	Darah, benang (sic) chaier
Bulu kain chindei,	Urat benang bulang
Mata, mata sagak,	Tulang ranting aur,
Kaki bentok kail	Ekor kipas chinak."

I will conclude with a few specimens of proverbial sayings among the Besisi:

- (1) Dah jön, hap tëlöng
 (Kalau) ada 'bri. (kalau) tada, chhari.
- (2) 1. Bujam mpai 'an meri
 Bujam bharu bawa kahutan
 2. Bujam li' karak hadung
 Bujam lama (burok) tinggal di-rumah.
- (3) Compare with the Malay "patah tumbuh, hilang berganti" the following:
 1. Seh tëlöng, bedök boht
 Hilang chhari, chichir pungut
 2. Chidût kachohm, ketök bök
 Tumpah gali, putus di-ubong.

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